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582 835 brothers and sisters, real and classificatory, and the breaking of this taboo is the very worse crime of the society. The taboo applies just as strongly to sexual intercourse as to marriage. Breaking the sex taboo between cross-cousins and between parents and children, while considered a great social crime, is not quite so bad as breaking the brother-sister taboo. In the past the penalty for breaking any of [684] the incest taboos was death; the guilty individuals were killed by members of their own clan. No such breach occurred during my visit, and since killing is now forbidden by the Mandated Government, it is difficult to say what the punishment would be to-day. There are no tales of any incestuous marriages, but tales of incestuous intercourse with the punishment of the offenders are told. Since we know only about the few who have been caught, it is difficult to estimate even generally how frequently the taboo is broken. But it is quite evident that most of the natives have a horror of incest. Even a dream of it makes them thoroughly ashamed.

605 The *korup* relationship between cross-cousins of opposite sex (see term 14) is the one surrounded with the most ritual prohibitions. Personal names must never be mentioned, and instead the term *korup* is used when one member of the relationship wishes to refer to the other. Between children the term the diminutive, *koko*, is used. The two *korup* relatives do not go near each other. If it would be absolutely necessary that they speak, it would be done briefly, at a distance of about twenty-five feet. Food is exchanged [431] between them, but always through the medium of a third person.

582 606 A man's preferred mate is this same *korup's* daughter, whom he calls by the term *-tumbo* (wife, see term 11), whether he marries her or not. If he marries another woman who does not stand in the relationship of a cross-cousin's daughter, her mother becomes *korup* to him. Thus mother-in-law is

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always a taboo relationship to a man. Whether this taboo relationship is fundamentally a cross-cousin or a mother-in-law one is at present a matter of conjecture.[1]

Between cross-cousins of the same sex (*ripunga* and *ripungaina*, see terms 18 and 19) there is friendliness, cordiality, and affection. The link connecting them is the very close and affectionate mother's brother or father's sister, and there is no possibility of sex conflict, because they are of the same sex.

A mutually helpful and affectionate relationship exists between parents and children. An infant or child is cared for by the older member, and in a similar way an old, feeble member is dependent upon the younger one of the relationship.

There is also a friendly helpful and fond relationship between brothers and between sisters. A brother and sister relationship is marked by friendliness and helpfulness, but at the same time there is a semi-avoidance to insure an absence of sexual relations. Sexual play between them before puberty is prohibited, and while there is a frequent exchange of gifts and services in adult life, there are no intimacies. Conversation is limited to a minimum.

The term mother is used for the mother's sister and father for the father's brother, and a person calls his mother's, sister's, and father's brother's children by the term brother and sister (see terms 1, 2, 3, 4). Should a native's own mother be dead, his mother's sister takes her place. Similarly, if an old woman's own children are dead, her sister's children will take care of her. If a native's mother and mother's sisters are all alive, some of his duties towards the latter will remain latent. But other duties, such as assistance in garden work, will be carried out.

For the mother's brother and father's sister new terms

[1] The native word for taboo when applied to objects (and not to people) is *korul*. So whether *korup* is a kinship term in the same sense that "mother" is, or whether it is simply a word for taboo, is also uncertain.

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An affectionate relationship between a child and maternal uncle is also usual. Food and tobacco are frequently given by the mother's brother to his nephews and nieces. The relationship is a friendly, affectionate, gift-giving one. The children may eat with the mother's brother, but they never sleep in his house. They sleep in their parents' house, except the older boys, who use the men's house. The mother's brother is not the disciplinarian. If a scolding or spanking is due it is the duty of one of the parents. The maternal uncle does not even seem to be particularly concerned with his niece's or nephew's conduct. That is their parent's business. When Batu, a young, unmarried girl, stayed away very late one night, it was her parents who sat up and worried because they did not know her whereabouts. Her maternal uncle was fast asleep in his house and did not even know of his niece's absence. Also in minor details, such as defecation, assisting in the daily tasks, it is the parents who both command and discipline.

There is also a very affectionate relationship between parallel cousins of the opposite sex, such as a girl and her mother's sister's son. An affectionate attitude is shown in public between these two. For instance, one girl who had just reached puberty and her cousin, who was several years older, walked around hand-in-hand, or with arms thrown carelessly around each other, and playfully fondled each other. The same kind of affectionate playfulness exists between grandparents and grandchildren and a maternal uncle and his niece. To the foreign observer it is more noticeable in the behaviour between the cousins mentioned above, probably because of their similarity in age. In this parallel cousin relationship, it must be noted that the two are of the same clan and the kinship term between them is that of brother and sister. One sees much more demonstration of affection between these cousins who call themselves brother and sister than between real brothers

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and sisters, between whom a semi-taboo relationship begins at puberty. But although there is no demonstration of affection between them, in childhood real brothers and sisters play together.

The real force of taboo relationships does not make itself felt until after puberty. The most important of these, as has been indicated, are the cross-cousin relationships, that is, between a girl and her mother's brother's son and her father's sister's son. At the same time that the child learns the personal names of other relatives, he learns that personal names in this cross-cousin relationship must never be spoken, and that the term *koko* (the diminutive of *korup*) is used instead. He sees the avoidance between the adults who stand in this relationship, and he, too, avoids his *koko*, although perhaps not quite so actively as do the adults. Thus a child sees his father leave the compound when the maternal grandmother comes to visit them. Since the children spend most of their time on the outskirts of the adult world, they have full opportunity to observe patterns of behaviour between taboo and other relatives, as well as to learn how to scrape taro and handle the fishing-net.

Education here is for the most part a subtle process. From infancy, children are bystanders in the adult world. Wherever the adults are gathered, there also are the children, watching them as they perform their tasks, assisting in them within their strength, and listening to the conversations, on which there are no bars because of the presence of children. Obscene stories, scandal, gossip of all kinds, are repeated openly before children of all ages. There is one exception, and this is not a matter of age but of kinship; a mother does not discuss her sexual life before her daughter, whether that daughter be a tot of five or a middle-aged woman. She will talk about her sexual life before other women, and she will discuss another woman's sexual life before her daughter, but not her own *affaires du cœur*. She gives as her reason that she is